



RICHMOND COMRADES

Mount the Breech and Hold High the Flag.

Plain Language Uttered by a Committee of the Section in the Common Council
An Issue on Municipalization Leads to Broader Discussion—The Tramp and Class Legislation—The Capitalist Body Rules our Comrade "Out of Order," and the Discussion is Continued in the Public Press.

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 24—I have been requested by our Richmond Comrades to acquaint the Comrades in the land of a little fight Section Richmond had with the members of the Common Council of the above city and the raising of broader issues that that gave rise to.

The causes which led up to it were as follows: For some time past there have been some speculators around here examining into and feeling the pulse of some of our manufacturing concerns to find out how they stood in regards to the erecting of an electric plant for the generation of electric light and motor power. Their investigation having proved satisfactory, they forthwith applied for a charter to erect the same, purposing to use the waste water of the river James as power. We, having observed in the papers the discussion thereon in the committee of the Council on Streets, etc., and also that they reported favorably, determined to memorialize the Common Council in both branches and ask them to refuse to grant said charter, but rather have the city erect a plant, if necessary, and operate it itself for the benefit of the citizens.

Accordingly we appointed a committee, of which Comrade A. B. McCulloch was chairman, to draw up suitable resolutions, and forthwith proceeded to beard the lion in his den, first in the Council and again at the meeting of the Board of Aldermen. On both occasions Comrade McCulloch took advantage of the opportunity afforded him to get in some good licks for Socialism—not, of course, in the Glasgow plan. He was listened to very attentively by the gentlemen present, but the four Commissioners, when he in closing attacked a resolution offered by the "Young Men's Business Association" asking the Council to pass an ordinance to the effect that all tramps found in or around the city should be tried for vagrancy and condemned to work for stated periods in the bed of a loathsome strip of some stagnant water called Shockoe Creek.

Comrade McCulloch said he hoped the gentlemen of the Board would pigeon-hole, for all time and eternity, that infernal piece of vicious capitalist class legislation known as the tramp ordinance, the outcome of diseased faculties and adamant hearts. He was about to be ruled "out of order" by the chairman, when Alderman Allen (one of the wealthiest parasites in the body, and who always signs his name "J. E. Allen, capitalist") asked our Comrade in a sneering tone, how he deemed the proposed ordinance class legislation? Comrade McCulloch stung by the sneering tone of the sleek Alderman turned and discharged a volley, the like of which had not been heard for a long time, if ever at any of their meetings. He told him it was capitalist class legislation from the fact that only one class would be affected and suffer by it, and that class were the poor whom machinery had thrown mercilessly out on the streets, and who, trudging from city to city in quest of work, and failing in which, were forced to either beg, starve or steal. The above assertion called forth a host of questions which our Comrade answered readily. With convincing and convincing logic he was hammering them around in all directions, when the chairman called him down and he left the arena with much more fight in him than when he went in there.

The "Dispatch" newspaper next day misquoted Comrade McCulloch and, seeking to correct these errors, he tried to work in the enclosed clipping. But they fought shy, and he was forced to take it to the "Times." After fighting the editor and proprietor for hours he finally succeeded in getting it inserted in that ranket of gold bug Democratic papers in the State. Here is what he said:

"My views on the proposed tramp ordinance having been misconstrued, I desire to further explain my position on this important measure. I would state that I am far from being in favor of men of any class being maintained in idleness, excepting, of course, the aged and the infirm. That is why I am a Socialist. Under a Socialistic system of society every man would have an opportunity of employment and get the full value of that which he produced, and if he produced nothing he would get nothing. Under the competitive system of to-day we have two classes of idle men, viz: first, the tramps, who are denied an opportunity to work and who are often compelled to beg for bread; and, secondly, the millionaire class, who have abundant opportunity of performing useful work, but will not, and who live off the fruits of other people's labor. Of the two I think the latter element is the one at whom a vigorous ordinance should be directed.

But notwithstanding the contention that the tramp ordinance is not class legislation, it must be perfectly clear to every thinking man that the proposed ordinance is intended to apply only to the class Abraham Lincoln styled the common people. It is God's poor dis-

possessed proletariat upon whom the barbarous humiliation is sought to be visited of cleaning the bed of Shockoe Creek or breaking stone, while all the time guarded by armed men, and locked up in felons' cells at night, this penalty for being poor and unable to procure employment! Were American citizens residing in Cuba or Armenia subjected to imprisonment in those countries for no greater crime, the very air we breathe would be sulphuric from the invectives pronounced against the 'butcher Spaniard' and the 'unspeakable Turk.' But when the abominable outrage is perpetrated at our very doors, it is so different!

There has been a time when men who did not work could safely be adjudged vagabonds and treated as such, but that favored period has long passed into oblivion and has been succeeded by the era of labor-displacing machinery and trusts. The mighty industrial revolution which has taken place in the United States within the last quarter of the nineteenth century has resulted in the displacement from all opportunity of employment of millions of those very workmen without whose brain and brawn our country could never have attained its present industrial and commercial prestige. The worker no longer owns, as he once did, the tools of production; the tools now own the worker.

As an example of what has occurred, the Mergenthaler type-setting machine may be fitly cited. This wonderful device has already displaced thirty per cent. of the printers of the United States, and the percentage is constantly swelling. What has become of these men thus thrown out of employment? They are tramping the country over, searching for an opportunity to work. Not a week passes but the writer comes across some member of this distressed army, who is hungry and homeless and ready to die of despair. And almost every trade is becoming affected in like manner.

"Thus it has come to pass that the term 'tramp,' instead of meaning a man who will not work, is generally applied to those worthy unfortunates who are seeking earnestly for an opportunity to sustain themselves by honest toil. It is for these helpless victims of a cannibalistic social system that the Young Men's Business Association would provide imprisonment with hard labor, should they 'beg or solicit alms, whether of money, food, lodging, or clothing.' Shame upon such a proposition!

"This tramp ordinance agitation is but one of the many evidences of the deadening effects of commercialism upon the hearts and souls of men. The noble attributes of character implanted in man by the Architect of his body are destroyed by the insatiable desire for gold and glory. What a horrible mockery this so-called civilization of to-day is! No wonder the Hottentots prefer their rude social usages to our cruel, dog-eat-dog system.

"If the workingmen of the community fail to see in the tramp ordinance a movement to oppress and enslave their class, they are much blinder than I am willing to concede them to be. May an aroused public opinion defeat this scheme and all others projected with like intent.—Alex. B. McCulloch."

Some may think our fight did not amount to much, as the charter was granted. Well, we did not care a snap of our fingers for that, because we knew that there was nothing in it for the wage slave anyhow; but we gave the capitalist politicians and their allies, the "pure and simpliers," a black eye by proving to our fellow workers that if we are "small potatoes" as to numbers, we are greater than the whole caboodle of Simple Simons in our ability to see the cat, and having seen it, boldly stand in open day and let the world know it.

Fraternally,
H. D. MATHER,
Organizer Section Richmond.



The Municipal Vote in Boston.

The S. L. P. comes out of its first municipal contest in Boston with flying colors.

David Goldstein, for Mayor, received 827 votes.

Martha Moore Avery, for School Commissioner, 6,680 votes.

The seven candidates for Aldermen polled a vote that ranged from 1,400 up to 2,105, the vote polled by Nugent.

The complaint of Judge Paterson, of the New York Supreme Court, that the Bar is becoming demoralized, has in it all the naïveté of the loving ignoramus weeping at the bier of a departed friend whose demise he ascribes to "lack of breath."

No doubt, the Bar, the Bench, too, is becoming, nay, is demoralized. How else could it be if lawyers' pleas and judges' judgments are not the emanations of science and justice but the echoes of the will of the capitalist class who own their Bar and Bench as it owns its breeches. How else can it be if the lawyers' and the judges' living depend upon obsequiousness to so infamous a class as the capitalist class?

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TAKE THIS IN.

The Singery Failure Put on the Dissecting Table.

The Collapse Last Week in Philadelphia of a Giant "Captain of Industry" Brings to Light Facts that Sweep Away the Capitalist Myth About the Capitalist Doing the "Managing," "Directing" and "Thinking" in Production, and Hence Being a Co-operator in Wealth-Production.

Down the stream of Social Evolution floats the corpse of the Singery Bank of Philadelphia. Let us place it on the dissecting table, and, while its depositors vainly weep over their deposits, let the Socialist scalpel be applied to the carcass. Nothing, frequently, so well becomes these capitalist concerns as their death. Much profit can be derived from them at such times, seeing that their death makes public much that their lives kept secret.

It is a string on which the acolytes of the capitalist class incessantly harp that labor is NOT the sole producer of wealth; the capitalist, say they, fulfills a function that is necessary to wealth production. He directs, he manages, he thinks—without his direction, management, thinking, wealth is unproductive. Capitalist professors, capitalist politicians, capitalist parsons, that is to say, professors, politicians and parsons with a string to their legs the other end of which is held by capitalists, have discredited in all manner of keys on these necessary functions of the capitalist in the production of wealth, and have drawn from their theory the conclusion that what the capitalist gets is his share of his efforts in the production of wealth. That is the nursery tale which the Singery Bank corpse is the latest to explode when closely analyzed.

The failure of the Singery Bank brings out the fact that it was but one of the concerns "managed" by "Captains of Industry" Col. William Singery. Besides "directing," "managing" and doing the "thinking" for the bank he had his "managing," "directing" and "thinking" finger in the following pie (and, of course, drew therefor his share of his "labors"):

- 1.—The Chestnut Street Trust Savings Fund Company (Philadelphia);
- 2.—The Philadelphia "Record";
- 3.—The Brighton Worsteds Mills;
- 4.—The Norristown Farm Machinery Manufacturing Company;
- 5.—The Lannon Store (Philadelphia);
- 6.—The Photo-Engraving Company (Philadelphia);
- 7.—The Rembrandt Engraving Company (Baltimore);
- 8.—The Rembrandt Engraving Company (Philadelphia);
- 9.—The Litt Brothers' Store (Philadelphia);
- 10.—The Temple Theater (Philadelphia), burned down; and
- 11.—Stock farms in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas and Colorado.

A more complete exposure of the absurdity and stupidity of the claim and of the dishonesty of those who maintain it, that what the capitalist pockets is, not stolen goods, as Socialists claim, but the "share of his own labor" in production can not be had than by considering the claim in the light of this long list of diversified industries, located in a large number of distant places.

The human being does not exist, cannot exist, that can "manage," "direct" and do the "thinking" for simultaneously a bank in Philadelphia and a stock-farm in Colorado; of a machinery-manufacturing plant in Norristown and a photo-engraving establishment in Baltimore; of a newspaper and a trust savings fund concern; of another stock-farm in Ohio and a Lannon store in Philadelphia. Not if the day had 399 hours, instead of 24; not if the physical body could travel with the swiftness of X-rays and disregard physical impediments; not if the human frame were of steel and cast iron; not if the human skull contained the brain power of a hundred powerful heads—not even then could one man "manage," "direct" or "do the thinking for" such a number of different concerns, any one of which bespeaks the full time and thoughts of many average individuals.

No, Col. Singery did not "direct," "manage" or "think for" all or any one of these concerns. And yet they were running, and only one or two failed. If he did not do the "managing," "directing," "thinking," who did? Someone must have done that. Enterprises do not run of themselves. The managing, thinking, directing, together with all the work done and needed to be done in all these establishments was done from top to bottom by hired men, by labor, by wage slaves. "Captains of Industry," Singery, like all other "captains of industry," did and do no manner of work. Whence, then, the "share" they get? From the sweat of the brow of labor, of their employees, of the wage-slaves—it is stolen property.

The "managing," "thinking," "directing" done by the capitalist class to-day in the production of wealth is a myth. The whole "managing," "thinking," "directing" they do is such "managing," "thinking," "directing" as may be necessary to keep agoing the pack of professors, parsons and politicians whom they need to keep alive their swindling myth and thereby keep themselves in idle luxury.

The wealth of the world is the product of labor. The capitalist class does no manner of work that conduces to wealth-production. Whatever effort this class exerts may not be dignified with the word "labor," any more than the pickpocket's efforts, or the slaver's efforts, trying though these efforts may be. Such efforts do not AID PRODUCTION; they only AID THE TRANSFER of wealth produced from those to whom it belongs into the pockets of the "managers," "directors" and "thinkers" of swindling schemes.

A SHOE-WORKER'S

Speech to His Fellow Craftsmen and Wage Slaves.

On the 10th of this month, Jeremiah Reardon of Lynn Addressed his Fellow Shoeworkers in the Rotunda of the Lynn City Hall on the Causes of their Declining Wage and of the Pauperization of the Working Class—The Effects of Machinery Owned by Private Individuals.

Fellow Workers and Citizens—Let me explain to you who have not studied Socialism, why you should join the Socialist Labor Party.

To introduce my subject, let me show you how human labor is displaced, and daily made more and more valueless through the introduction of machinery. I will try and give you an idea, as briefly as possible, how this displacement occurs and its attendant results.

I will first call your attention to a machine upon which I have been an operator for years. This machine is but one of the many thousands that are gradually forcing a daily increased percentage of workmen to become tramps and beggars. I speak of this machine in particular, because I know more about this one than I do of the others. Twenty years ago a man could sew 25 pairs of turn shoes by hand; now, with the machine, he can sew 300, or, in other words, one man can do the work to-day that it took 12 men to do less than 20 years ago. In this city of Lynn alone, on turns and welts, there are over 100 of these machines in use. The labor displacement on the welts can be figured about the same as on the turns, and if one machine displaces 11 men 100 machines would displace 1,100 men. But remember, I have only spoken of the effects of this in one city.

Go to St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago, Rochester, New York, Brooklyn, Haverhill, and Newburyport, and hundreds of other smaller shoe towns throughout the United States, and you will find the displacement of labor through the introduction of this machine alone is something enormous.

But this machine, as a labor displacing machine, is not in it compared with thousands of other machines in use in the mills and factories of this country. Every day some new piece of labor-saving machinery is introduced or some improved parts added to the old machines, which lessens the demand for our labor and consequently cheapens it.

To further illustrate, suppose it takes 10 men to-day to do a certain quantity of work; to-morrow a machine is introduced with which five men can do the same quantity; the five men who are forced out of their jobs become the competitors of those who are working; this being a case of two men for one job, the five who are working get their wages lowered.

Now, let us see what we have done. We have completely cut off the purchasing power of five men and are lessening the purchasing power of the other five as fast as new and improved machinery will warrant it. Every man we displace or deprive of the chance to earn a living through the introduction of machinery is one customer less for the hat store, the shoe store, the clothing store, etc. How can you expect business to be good, or even get any better under a system which is daily adding fresh numbers to the army of idle workmen? How can they buy our product when they have no money to buy it with, or no chance to work that they might earn money? There is but one conclusion to be drawn from this—the more idle men you have, the more non-consumers you have; the greater becomes the difficulty of your employer to dispose of the product which he at times so generously permits you to work upon.

There is not a workman here or anywhere else who is capable of doing any thinking for himself but will be compelled to admit that his chances for making a living are now and have been for years daily growing less and less. It is not because you are not as willing to work as you ever were. It is because you are able to produce so much in such a short space of time—one man to-day, with the aid of the machine, which he does not but ought to own, can produce as much as 10 men could a few years ago.

What are you going to do with the nine that are left? Feed them on charity? If you do, let me tell you that every ounce of charity they get from any of your institutions or so-called philanthropists costs a pound of your sweat and labor, and surely you are not foolish enough to think that we have reached the limit of mechanical perfection yet. To-morrow, or the day after, we will have a machine that will do the work of 20 men. What are you going to do with the 19 men you will then displace? I need not go into details on this question, because I do not believe there is a man present who is so stupid that he does not know that every day human hands and fingers are pushed aside and supplanted with iron ones.

Admitting without further argument that at least part what I said is true, how do the parties most of you belong to propose to deal with this problem? By making the Democratic workingman believe that free trade is the remedy, and the Republican workingman believe protection is the cure, and the workingman who does not believe in either of these remedies can try a dose of the over-production or under-consumption pill, or try a few of the other pills.

Business will be good after the elec-

tion pills, or after the holidays, or after the tariff is settled, or after confidence is restored, or after the warehouses are empty—any of those pills, when administered by a good smooth political physician, have a soothing effect on the workingman with the scum on his optics. But those proposed remedies have an entirely different effect upon the Socialist. They put him in such a peculiar position that he is forced to wink the other eye, because he has learned from experience that the only cure is the abolition of the competitive wage system and the collective ownership of the implements of production; he knows that when his employer hires him to work, he does not hire him because he likes him; he does not hire him because he wants to do him a favor; he does not hire him because his wife and family are in needy circumstances. No; he hires him to make money out of his labor. Creed or nationality make no difference. The question is, Are you young, strong and speedy, and how cheap can you work? And as soon as you have produced enough to be equivalent to a dollar you get 25 cents, the balance, or 75 cents, you pay for the privilege of being permitted to work—perhaps feeding or running some machine which is constructed from material that was on the earth thousands of years before any of us came to the world, material that was dug from the earth, fashioned and shaped into machines by human hands, not the hands of millionaires, but the hands of workmen like yourselves. Workmen dig the material from the earth, work it through the various stages of manufacture, and finally build a machine out of it. Do they keep it and use it to lessen the toil of themselves and their fellow workers? No; they give it to the capitalist, and he uses it for his own individual interest; uses it for lessening the value of all you have got to live upon—your labor; and you have been doing this so long that you have put him in complete possession of the tools of production, and when you want to produce some of the things you need for consumption upon the machines that you and your class have constructed you then learn that the tools and implements of production, the creations of millions of minds and hands of workmen that are dead and passed away, as well as those that are living, are bolted to the floors of the mills and factories of the world, and we dare not touch them until we are permitted by those who control them!

Fellow workmen, can you not realize the helplessness, the increasing helplessness of your position? You surely must know that every day your opportunity to earn a living for yourself and families grows less and less. There are men standing here to-night, men of families who a few years ago found it easy enough to earn 20 or 25 dollars a week; to-day they would be glad to earn half of it; and it is a fairly safe assertion to make that they don't average one-quarter of it!

I hope there is no man here foolish enough to believe that his wages can be increased or his condition made better under the present competitive or wage slavery system. Don't fool yourselves into believing or let anybody else fool you into believing that your condition as a wage worker can be improved under this system. If you do any thinking, search yourselves. See if you can find any justifiable reason for believing that your condition can be made better under this system; if you find any you will surprise me some and yourself some more.

I would ask those men who have families growing up what trade or calling will they put their sons or daughters to? There is not a father here present to-night but has been troubled with this thought many a time, and that father who is conscious of the fact that every day makes it a day harder to earn a living, with insanity, crime and prostitution on the increase, the father who will go to the polls and vote for the continuation of a system that may make a prostitute of his daughter or a thief of his son; the father who does this is guilty of a crime he may well shudder at. He will leave the conditions which that beloved son or daughter must later on battle against a great deal worse than he found them, or, in other words, he is upholding a system with his ballot that is putting pebbles in his way as barriers between him and the opportunity to earn an honest living, pebbles that are rapidly developing into boulders.

Will you stand calmly by and watch them growing, more and more completely blocking the path to bread and butter over which those whom you love must soon begin their travels? Perhaps this statement may seem somewhat overdrawn to you; perhaps you have never given the subject much thought; but I ask any of you, especially men along in years, look over your list of neighbors of the past and you will surely find some families that have been wrecked through the inability of the head of the family to earn sufficient money to keep his family as he formerly did. Lower a man's wages and you lower his social standing. Low wages and often no wages are bound to create discontent in the family. A year or two of wrangling, then borrowing, the pawnshop next, then drink, and the children—well, God help them!

Fellow workmen, you surely cannot wish for the continuation of a system productive of so much crime and misery. Surely you do not wish for the continuation of a system that is the curse of thousands of men, women and children to be without food and shelter in this country to-night. Go through the tenement house districts of any of our large cities; look at the pieces of broken furniture or perhaps a piece of the baby's rocking horse that was bought in better days covered with sleet and snow, placed on the sidewalk by the deputed hirelings of landlordism and capitalism for the crime of no work and no money. Go to any police

(Continued on Page 4.)

SPEAKERS' POINTS

Made at the Opening of the Jewish Socialist Convention.

Where There is no Peace, Peace Can not be Established by the Crying of Peace—A Review of the Real Issue that the Jewish Socialist Movement has had to Confront—Speakers Must be Educators, not Entertaining Clowns—Minorities and Majorities—Great Enthusiasm.

The report of the convention of Jewish-speaking Socialists, found elsewhere in this issue, should be supplemented with some of the points made in some of the addresses at the opening.

Comrade De Leon, who was invited to give the opening address, referred to the line of arguments he had made at the opening of the last convention two years ago. He there, instead of seeking to cover up the fight that was about to break out, fired the first shot, and, by exposing the falsifications and wrong-headedness of a certain Jewish paper, made clearer the issue. That sort of tactics was the only wise one. Utopians charge Socialists with introducing the class struggle; we answer we don't "introduce" it, we "find it in existence," and by pointing it out and making it clear we render the combatants aware of what it is they are struggling about, and enable them to arrive at the easier at a solution. So in the instance of the Jewish troubles that were then bubbling. The tactics he then struck had their desired result.

As to the nature of the issue then made clear, it was the attempt of a few scatter-brained and charlatanish Jews to dominate the party, or break it up. The history of that issue illustrated Marx' theory that history repeats itself—the first time as tragedy, the second as farce. The Jewish coterie of charlatans, that tried to dominate the party—Cahan, Winchewsky, Miller, Zametkin, etc.—sought to imitate Bakounin. Bakounin could not control the International, and he broke it up; these Jews could not control the Socialist movement among the Jewish proletariat, and they sought to break it up. The Bakounin episode was the tragedy, the Cahan, Winchewsky, Miller episode was the farce. Their conduct reminded him of a Haytian negro general. He had heard that at the battle of the pyramids, Napoleon inspired his army by saying to it: "From the heights of these pyramids centuries upon centuries look down upon you!" The negro general sought to imitate Napoleon, and addressing his soldiers just before a certain encounter said to them: "From the heights of these cocoa-nut trees hundreds upon hundreds of monkeys look down upon you!" Bakounin was the last intellectual force of expiring individualism, and his schism set the collective movement back; his would-be imitators, as such a caricature of him as the negro general was of Napoleon, sought to do likewise. The Hague Congress in 1872 was the last of the International; not until 17 years later, in 1889, was the next international congress held again, and the Socialist movement went on its course; the farce imitators of Bakounin were so farcical that two years after the last Jewish Socialist Convention this one was held again. It was to the previous one of two years ago what the international Socialist Convention of Paris, 1889, was to the Hague Convention of 1872. The Jewish Socialist movement had quickly recovered from the effect of the farce repetition of history.

Comrade Stone, a delegate representing Chicago, scored a telling point by contrasting the backwardness of the Jewish workingman's movement here, where there was freedom of assemblage and speech, with its soundness and vigor in Russia, where no such advantages were enjoyed. He pointed out that the reason of this was that, just because of no freedom of assemblage in Russia, only few men could meet at a time and thus no opportunity was offered to sensational and superficial speakers to fish for applause with sentimentalism and jokes; there sound, calm, thorough arguments alone had a chance, and thus the Jewish workmen in Russia, being better tutored, had a good movement, whereas here the large meetings encouraged the development of flippant Jewish speakers, who did not teach Socialism but simply amused the crowds; hence the large masses of the Russian Jewish workers here had yet to be taught Socialism.

Comrade King, one of the delegates representing Boston, said among other things that, if minorities are justified to secede, then whenever a minority succeeds in becoming a majority it justifies the secession from it by the then minority. Such conduct could lead only to the trituration of a movement. Every time there was a minority there would be a secession, and, consequently, impotence. The minority, if honest, should seek to convert the majority; if such minority is right it will succeed, if it does not succeed it is a sign of its being wrong.

The hall in which the convention was held was packed to the doors by a dense crowd that enthusiastically cheered the points made.

So then the Henry George party, or the project to make the thing a party, is to be abandoned? That the absurdity of imagining that such a "party" could be held together and grow has dawned on the schemers of the scheme is very much to their credit. On the list of their "thoughts" this is the first sensible one of which they are guilty.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1890 (Presidential).....	3,068
In 1890.....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1892.....	33,133
In 1894 (Presidential).....	36,564
In 1897.....	54,159

My call is the call of battle, I nourish active rebellion,
He going with me must go well armed.
He going with me goes often with spare diet, poverty, angry enemies, desertion.

Walt Whitman.

THE NEW YEAR.

In the midst of the gloom in which the year 1897 closed, and the new year opened, the Socialist alone can feel cheerful, he alone can shake his fellow's hands with joy, he alone can wish him a Happy New Year.

To the usurping class and to the oppressed who know not the mechanism of the system that grinds them down, the future is a closed book. The former may in its affluence drown its apprehensions of the future, but when it wishes a Happy New Year its wish implies impotence. No less impotent is the wish for a Happy New Year that emanates from the breast of the proletariat that still gropes in the darkness of class-unconsciousness: its wishes partake of the nature of a prayer to a power whom it can not control and to whose wish it must submit as to fate.

Not so with the Socialist, with the class-conscious proletariat. To these the future is an open book. Their sufferings are not crushing because they know the way out, they see the way out, and they are marching on that path. To these every day brings society one day nearer to its liberation, every year opens an era for renewed and hopeful activity. The Socialist, consequently, is the only one who can and does wish a Happy New Year to his fellow strugglers.

The year that just rolled away was one of severe but successful struggle. The record of our growth during this year heads this column. The year just entered into opens under the most favorable auguries. With a hearty Happy New Year the Socialist buckles down to work that shall render 1898 a happy one indeed by so far as it will record still longer strides towards the breaking down of Capitalism and the rearing of the Socialist Commonwealth.

ALL EYES ON RHODE ISLAND!

The growth of the Socialist Labor party in Rhode Island seems to be bearing immediate fruit. An attempt is on foot with the robber class that controls the State to rid itself of the doom that is in store for it, and that it feels is approaching, by disfranchising the working class.

Inadequate though the means are to the ultimate end in view, it becomes the class-conscious proletariat of the land to join their means to those of our Comrades in the threatened State to resist and prevent the plot from being carried out.

As will be seen from the report of the National Executive Committee, active measures are to be immediately put on foot by the Socialist Labor party in this serious emergency. Take the ballot away from the proletariat and violent revolution is invited. The S. L. P. in its humane propaganda must see to it that no effort be lost to make the solution of the Social Question a peaceful one, and to exhaust all means to that end, in order that the blood that might flow in case Russian conditions are instituted here, may rest wholly on the heads of the already murderous class against which civilization is now struggling.

"ROSY-CHEEKED" SWEATERS.

The following advertisement from a large retail store, that appears in one of the New York dailies under flaming headlines and in double columns, tells a significant tale. Here it is:

"Thousands of women who await this sale with intense expectancy have had their brightest anticipations realized. This display is by far the most charming collection we have ever succeeded in gathering. Table after table heaped full of the daintiest exquisite, nothing but the prettiest and choicest. The qualities are sumptuous. Not odds and ends, but the pink of perfection—dreams of loveliness.

"Women wise in such things will thank the good fortune that has brought them such elegancies so low, and all the garments are fresh and pure and clean. FREE FROM THE CONTAGION OF TENEMENTS AND

SWEAT SHOPS: MADE AMONG THE HEALTHFUL HILLS OF NEW ENGLAND BY THE NIMBLE FINGERS OF ROSY-CHEEKED MAIDENS."

People who are so shaped that they try to remove evils by plasters instead of by their eradication have long been working for the abolition of the sweat shops in every manner conceivable except the right one. The sweat shop is one of the logical results of capitalism. Like certain diseases, it falls first upon the weak. The victims of the sweat shops were originally found only in the congested districts of congested cities. The special features of the sweat shop are two: first, the contract system, whereby a capitalist gets some one to contract to deliver certain amounts of goods at a given price; and second, the grinding down of the operatives by the contractors, who, in order to make as much as possible out of their contracts squeeze their operatives. The inhumanity of this process became so apparent that it evoked an outcry against it. Then "philanthropy" stepped forward and gushed; politicians availed themselves of the sentiment and ranted; labor fakirs and shyster lawyers exploited the sentiment; and so it went on for a long while. The evil, cropped at the top, continued to flourish, drawing its life from the roots that it was allowed to preserve. The city sweat shop went on unabated.

Presently, the conditions that breed the sweat-shop victim began to manifest themselves elsewhere, in the rural districts and small villages. What with the decline of the farmer, whereby his children were forced into the factory, and the subsequent development of machinery whereby these young folks were thrown out of work, the New England country towns began to produce a material that at all points was equal to the best fodder of the city sweatshops. Then a light dawned upon the "charitable" brain of the capitalist. The city sweat shop is too much "in evidence"; the light of day beats too glaringly upon it; moreover, the public began to be affected by the reports of the infectious diseases bred in the sweat shop and spread by the garments made there. The rise in country towns of the human material that could be sweated the same as its kindred in the city caused a change of flank. The result is now seen in the advertisement above quoted.

The New England country towns are now gradually becoming enlarged sweat shops; New England young folks, pinched by want, as any one can ascertain by a walk through such towns, but being hidden away from the cities, can be referred to as "rosy-cheeked maidens"; and the fiction of their health and contentment can be made a subject for advertisements to recommend the goods by; and the sweating system can receive and does receive new increment.

In the meantime, the thoughtful will wonder and ask how long can rosy cheeks, assuming they are still rosy, preserve their blush at sweat-shop rates of wages; and the still more thoughtful will realize that the only way to abolish the sweating system is to abolish its dame—CAPITALISM.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION IN AMERICA.

The exhibition that the "K. of L." and the Kurzenknebe brewers are giving of themselves just now suggests a book under the title "The Development of the Pure and Simple Union in America." Such a work will surely be some time undertaken. To aid the future historian of this subject we shall off and on record some of the facts that may prove most aidful to him.

The Kurzenknebe brewers are pronouncing the "K. of L." brewers "scabs"; the "K. of L." brewers are pronouncing the Kurzenknebe brewers "scabs". From the headquarters of each flamboyant addresses are being issued to the public, each side claiming that the other is no good, etc., etc.

Whence may all this music come? Is either or are both of these headquarters animated by zeal for the working class? Are their mutual charges of scabbery founded, or does one of them lie? Nothing of the sort.

Neither the Jack Hayes-Hicks "K. of L." headquarters nor the Kurzenknebe ditto is animated by any love for the working class, or by any sense of wrong done to the working class by either. Their attitude is none other than that of hired drummers or "pullers-in" of competing firms, each of whom wants the market for itself, and, consequently, its "pullers-in" have to blackguard each other and run down each others employees.

Some capitalist brewers have found it a profitable way of advertising to say that they are "union concerns". For this purpose they ORDER their men into the union. So soon as that is done the journal of such a "union" becomes an advertising hand-bill for the shrewd brewer. He is spoken of as a "union" concern; his business is advertised under flaming head lines; and the officers of the "union" are made to see to it that the stuff of the "union" boss is pushed. All this is money in the boss' pocket, in so far as it is cheap advertisement; that his employees pay for it with their union dues; and that it entails upon him no hardships, on the contrary, he finds that, just as soon as the men are "organized" by his order, instead of having to deal with each separately, all he has to do is to deal

with the precious "union" officer who will keep the men quiet—provided they are sufficiently employed to pay dues on which the officer can live in drunkenness or in idleness.

But "competition is the life of trade". The brewer bosses are not a happy family. They are competitors. If one gets a "union" to act as his "puller-in", with the other advantages above mentioned, another set of brewers follows suit; they won't be outdone in "cleverness". The result is that this other set gets up a "union" of its own whose officers do for it the work that the officers of the previous "union" do for the other boss. The ultimate result is inevitable. The two sets of "pullers-in" clash, and the air becomes sulphuric with good round English and German oaths.

This is the secret of the row now going on between the Jack Hayes-Hicks and the Kurzenknebe headquarters.

In the midst of this fight of mercenaries, the unhappy working brewers, the rank and file, are the sufferers. They are among the most hard-treated workers and worst paid. Their interests are neglected, their interests are never considered, and are not considered now.

A body of proletarians officered by "pullers-in" for the bosses and paying dues to keep these officers in drink and comfort and to keep alive a "labor trade journal" that furnishes advertisements gratis to the exploiter—such is one of the manifestations of unionism "pure and simple" as it develops in America.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

There is great clapping of hands and thringing up of hats in the camp of the gentry who realize that one of the bulwarks of the system by which they can manage to live in idleness is a thoroughly prostituted judiciary. The rejoicing in this instance proceeds from the rumor that President McKinley contemplates appointing to the semi-judicial place of Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission Edward M. Paxon, a worthy on whose shoulders the ermine sat so loosely that he gave it up, when Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, for the receivership of the Reading; or, to put it otherwise, and no less correctly, received the Reading receivership as payment on the nail for the protection he extended as Chief Justice to the Carnegie civil and military law breakers by covering their breaches of law with the cloak of the law. The New York "Sun," an organ of the jubilators, commenting upon the objections raised by the decent portion of the community, expressed well the opinion of its masters in these words:

"The objections that have been made against Judge Paxon are so many compliments to his fitness for the post."

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen" deserves to be congratulated for having drawn upon itself the animosity of the Chicago "Herald." No decent labor paper can do its duty without incurring the hostility of fakirdom. The latest shot fired in the conflict proceeds from the "Citizen," and contains matter and allusions that should be generally known in so far as to typify the "arguments" and mental calibre of the "union-loving" brigade that has so much stored-up indignation for the "union-wrecking" Socialists. Here is the chastisement administered to the "Eight-Hour Herald" and to all its kindred by the "Citizen":

"As a rule, the 'Citizen' has neither a consuming desire nor available space to exchange compliments with depraved boodle sheets that pose as labor organs, and for that reason we will reply to the 'Eight-Hour Herald,' of Chicago, as briefly as possible.

"1. The 'Citizen' is accused of being a cheap socialist political publication. Correct. Price, \$1 a year, in advance. That is much better than being a Republican-Democratic sheet that is given away in bundles because no one buys it.

"2. This paper is accused of maligning certain national officers. 'We have told the truth in every instance and we challenge any of them to deny it. National officers are not above criticism. Even a cat can look at a king.

"3. The 'Citizen' never existed a single day on its merits, and has been a tax on the union men of Cleveland since the first number of the paper left the press. Every delegate in the C. L. U. knows that this paper has been on a paying basis for several years—ever since we began to expose fakirs and skates. Neither is it hopelessly in debt, nor does it operate a job plant to bleed unions, nor did it try to get boodle from Hanna or any other politician, nor did it ever conduct a blackmailing bureau in Chicago.

"In conclusion, we advise Hollister Bros., of Chicago, if they ever want their paper to become a paying investment, to hire an editor who can write an intelligent article on some labor subject, rather than continuing a butcher of the English language and an ex-Cleveland ward heeler in that capacity."

The following contains an unsavory present truth for the working class, and an unsavory future truth for the capitalist class found in the columns of the San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter":

"'Vox populi, vox dei.'—The voice of Balaam's ass was Jehovah's. If two things equaling the same thing are equal to each other, then 'vox populi, vox dei' amounts to 'vox asini, vox dei'; therefore the people's voice is an ass. Proof: They elected capitalists almost entirely at the last election. Some day perhaps their drivers will be dodging the asses' heels."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Cambridge Ditto.

TO THE PEOPLE—Your article on "Reform," in issue of December 26, brings to mind an act of the aristocratic city of Cambridge, Mass., about a year ago. The city government voted to increase the pay of all persons in the employ of the city who were receiving \$1,000 per year or over, which was done.

JOHN BUCKLEY.

Burlington, Vt., Dec. 28.

Picturesque.

TO THE PEOPLE—There are some real mad men amongst the labor leaders (?) in this city. And there is no one to blame for it but the wicked Socialists, who are trying to organize the workers into the S. T. & L. A. Indeed, in the near future the readers of THE PEOPLE will hear more concerning the Alliance in St. Louis.

A daily German paper of this city, which is trying to pose as a labor paper, has been publishing some glaring accounts about the growth of the "Social Democracy," but, unfortunately for it, it also gives the names of what it calls "prominent men" connected with the "Social Democracy."

Perhaps it would interest the readers of THE PEOPLE to hear more about these "prominent" gentlemen. First comes that trio which believes that the present Brewers' Union is more of a snap for them than the S. T. & L. A. would be—Messrs. Kurzenknebe, Bechtold and Franz. Then a gentleman by the name of Filbrun, late business manager of the defunct St. Louis "Tageblatt," alias Brewers' Organ No. 2, a paper that was repudiated by the German proletariat of St. Louis shortly before it gave up the ghost. Then there is amongst these gentlemen one who defrauded Section St. Louis out of \$2,500, and one who beat the Section out of \$4 for tickets that he sold, and several others of equal "prominence." All of the above named gentlemen are expelled members of the St. Louis Section.

For further information concerning these worthy apply to headquarters of Section St. Louis, 6 L. P., 410 1/2 Market street. We have their records on file. Amongst those "prominent men" we should not forget Mr. Hofer and a Mr. Banister, who have worked against the S. L. P. at every opportunity offered, and last, but not least, Mr. Cebelin, who said that the Debs movement was "a fake." (Perhaps that is why he joined it), and many others who could be placed in the same category.

Mr. Debs spoke here on Dec. 5th and 6th, but he did not have the overflow meetings that we read so much about in his organ, the "Social Democrat."

H. J. POELLING.

St. Louis, Dec. 26.

Experience on the Pacific Tallying with Experience on the Atlantic.

I have just read in the last issue of THE PEOPLE the interesting account by our Comrades of Lynn of Debs' visit there. It is instructive as well as interesting reading, and I will try to describe somewhat similar experiences that have taken place out here.

About two years ago Morrison I. Swift attempted to start a "Society of American Socialists" in San Francisco, and tried very hard to impress us and the public in general with the fact that the foreign imported brand of Socialism was a spurious article not fit for the consumption of real Americans; that his American Socialism was the only simple pure warranted article, thereby ignoring completely the great truth that Socialism is international. At that time a weekly journal called the "Altruist" boomed the new movement, and in an editorial headed "A Question of Policy," asserted that "more than half of the most understanding Socialists of the country are not in sympathy with the Socialist Labor Party," that they "were repelled by the doctrinarianism of the party," and were consequently obliged to work in an isolated way, and went on to say that Swift's new society "had a great field and a great opportunity. If it will make its plans great enough it can mark the beginning of a new sociological era." At that time I took the trouble to write to the editor and point out the fact that if it was true as he asserted, that more than half the Socialists were dissatisfied with the way the party was conducted, that they could be joining the party and sharing the work, absolutely mould the policy of the party to their liking and dominate its councils; that if they failed to do so, they failed to avail themselves of an opportunity to learn the first great lesson we Socialists are trying to teach, viz., the benefits of co-operation. It was Love's labor lost, both the paper and the society are long since dead and buried, and the editor and the agitator are both pursuing the erratic course of derelict vessels, driven about at the mercy of every vagrant current, knowing not whether they are drifting, but quite sure that the "S. L. P. is employing erroneous methods."

I learned at that time what I have since had verified on many occasions, that a handful of disgruntled men are apt to imagine that they are the people; that what they think is the thought of the great majority of mankind; that they are right and everybody else is wrong. When a disgruntled subscriber to a paper abruptly orders its discontinuance, he flatters himself that the weight of his displeasure will be too much for the editor to successfully carry. When a disgruntled Comrade of the S. L. P. thinks himself bigger than the party as a whole, and is forced to acknowledge that he is not, a similar condition of affairs is brought about. We have had a little friction in the Section lately, owing to the fact that a few Comrades would not conform to the constitution that was unanimously adopted two years ago, and under which the party achieved its recognition as a political party in this country by more than doubling its maiden vote. However, no serious damage was done as the dissatisfied Comrades dropped quietly out of the party by failing to keep in good standing, and there is little danger of any serious damage resulting from their loss.

A few words as to the conduct of our local campaign. A number of hard-working enthusiastic Comrades have organized themselves as the New Charter Propaganda Association, procured a foot-power press, have printed and distributed fifty thousand leaflets containing the party platform and party nominees, and are now at work

on a second fifty thousand. After the election is over it is their intention to print a similar number of stirring appeals to the intelligence of the wage worker and have them regularly and systematically distributed every month. By this means they will keep our local official organ, the "New Charter," prominently before the public, and do effective propaganda work at the same time. The good news of the advances made by our Eastern Comrades is very inspiring and gives us courage to keep up the fight all along the line.

The thoughtless frequently sneer at the slow growth of the S. L. P. When I first went to school one of the first of my reading lessons was the fable of the oak and the pig weed. They both sprouted at the same time, and while the oak was extending its roots in all directions and preparing for future growth, the vain pig weed was boasting of its rapid rise in the world, and looking down contemptuously on the baby oak. If our friends in the Social Democracy cannot see the moral the fault is not mine.

OLIVER EVERETT.

San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 16.

The Product of Pure and Simpledom.

TO THE PEOPLE—I have had occasion to see with my own eyes the condition of the miners. No description can do justice to the case. The miners made upon me the impression of galleys slaves, fettered to their benches; they look as if they had given up all hope, so often have they found themselves cheated by the labor misleaders. The mass of them seem reconciled to their lot as something that is not to be changed. In many a case, after being paid, the men do not return to work until they have drunk up all their wages, and in that way have forgotten their misery for a short spell. How hardened and bestialized some of them have become by their wretchedness will appear from this instance:

One morning a miner was knocked down by the rolling down of stones in the mine upon him. His companion or "partner" pulls him from under the heap, finds that he is dead, and, instead of striking an alarm and having the body removed, he shoves it aside, and quietly proceeds with his work. In the afternoon, as the superintendent went by the place and saw only one man at work, he inquired from him where his partner was. The answer was: "Him no good; him dead." Does not this speak volumes?

And yet, in the midst of this wholesale degradation, I have noticed that in many quarters the better part in man is powerfully asserting itself. In all quarters small groups are shaping themselves who have not lost all hope. The State Committee of the S. L. P. is literally overrun with questions upon how to organize Sections, from everywhere speakers are called for and literature. We are hardly able to supply the demand.

Allegheny, Pa., Dec. 23.

Inviting Martinism.

TO THE PEOPLE—Our Section sent an invitation to our Central Labor Union to join in an indignation meeting on the Hazleton butcheries. The C. L. U. refused the invitation on the ostensible reason that it came from a political party, the real reason, however, being that the C. L. U. is now essentially a "pure and simple" body, and as such is out of feeling and touch with the rest of the proletariat. The incident is well worth noticing. In reply to such cowardice, that clearly invites "Sheriff-Martinism" upon the heads of the working class of Indianapolis, our Section issued the following open letter to the C. L. U.:

"To the public at large—We learn from the press of this city that your body sat still in the chairs, declining to attend a meeting to protest against the killing of innocent miners in Hazleton, Pa., upon invitation of the Socialist Labor Party, on the ground of the same being a political party, which is against your constitution.

"Now, it is a fact that you had no meeting of your own, as a labor organization affiliated with the same national organization, the A. F. of L., as the miners themselves. It should have been your duty, and nothing short of that, to protest in a strong voice against the killing and wounding of your fellow unionists and brothers. But you slept; your sense of duty was asleep, unable to grasp the social and industrial condition that makes the killing of these miners an absolute example of the inability of the trades unions, in their present form, to help or even prevent the worker from gradually sinking lower and lower, and hence political action by the Socialists. We ask a few words with you upon this subject of political action. We trust that your ears will not be closed to such a timely subject.

"You are well aware that the history of the labor organization in the last ten years is a barometer of humiliation and defeat, morally as well as otherwise, and how could it be otherwise? You stand upon the ground that labor organizations "pure and simple," i. e., to fight for an increase of wages, shorter working day, will eventually bring happiness to the worker, but conditions and history, every-day events, prove otherwise. It proves that the economic organization of the worker, as against the economic organization of the modern capitalist, the trust, supported by the political organization, the government, is of no value. Every fight between them must naturally be a victory for the latter, because they are the strongest. These are in brief the causes that prompted the Socialist Labor Party to go into political action. It is immaterial to the Socialist how much you speak of frictions between unions and the Socialists. We are sure we are right, and hence our action. We are always willing at any place, at any time, to meet with any one to discuss this question. A hearty invitation is extended to everybody to attend our meetings, Socialist Labor Party."

As this incident has not yet been recorded in THE PEOPLE, it may be well to record it now. Time may come, time will come, when events will cause the workers of Indianapolis to think of it, and they should know it.

Indianapolis, Dec. 25.

N. N.

The People April 19th and August 16th, 1896.

Will Comrades in possession of above issues oblige us with sending us them? Need them for a file. Will give 10 copies of current issue for each copy of the numbers mentioned.



UNEMPLOYED BROTHERS.

Brother Jonathan (looking very angry)—You have a check, you have.

Uncle Sam—Inasmuch as to which? B. J.—Why, our union already gives you and its other unemployed members \$3 a week, and now you unemployed members want us to give you more!

U. S.—Anything wrong in that?

B. J.—Certainly, that is criminal!

U. S.—Tut, tut! Didn't we who are now unemployed enable the union to gain short hours and good wages?

B. J.—What of it?

U. S.—What of it? I'll tell you what of it. When you talk of our struggles do you and those who now have jobs talk of YOUR high wages and low hours? Do you not talk of the "Union's victory"?

B. J.—Why, certainly, it was the union's victory.

U. S.—And who makes up the "union," you fellows who are employed and have soft snaps, or ALL of us?

B. J. (visibly annoyed)—That has nothing to do with the case.

U. S.—It hasn't? It has everything to do with it. Now let me give you a lesson on unionism that you evidently stand very much in need of—

B. J.—YOU give me a lesson in unionism? Why, I have been in the union 37 years—

U. S.—I don't care if you have been in it 370 years, you don't know what unionism means. The union consists of ALL its members, do you hear that? It may be news to you; but it is so. It consists of ALL its members all the year round. Tinkerheads like you and fakirs would have the union consist of all its members only when there is a fight on; then we must ALL pay assessments; we must ALL go out and scurry; we must ALL stand the hardships of the strike;—but when the fruits of victory are to be enjoyed, then you precious "unionists of 37 years' standing," hold a different language; then ALL are not in it; then the plums are to be only for the few—

B. J.—But—

U. S.—Shut up! Then the question of who makes up the union suddenly has "nothing to do with the case." We who are not "37 or 370 years' union men," are good enough to pay dues and fight, but when the fight is over we are not considered. The devil take such unionism and such unionists! We unemployed want a larger share of our common victory.

B. J.—Preposterous; unionism—

U. S.—I'll show you whether it is "preposterous" or not; and before we get through with you we shall make you walk Spanish if you want to be in the bona fide organized labor movement—

B. J.—What you unemployed want is preposterous; it amounts to simply this: You want us to do the work and you are to be kept in idleness by the wages we work for—

U. S.—Is that what we are after? Now, if you really mean that, you can easily put us to the test. Offer to change places with us. If you are right, we unemployed will refuse. But I'll tell you what, you are wrong, and you know it. Just make the offer to us to change places and you will see. We are ready to take your places for 6 months, work for 6 months, and during that interval honestly share our income with you. At the end of the 6 months we can change places once more; you go to work, and if we can't get work you support us as we supported you. This is fair. Will you do it?

B. J. looks as if he had been caught stealing sheep.

U. S.—No, you won't. And that's all of your alleged "unionism." It is a caricature of the capitalist class which considers itself to be the nation, and all the happiness of the nation must be its property. Stand by the unemployed, or we will make the fur fly, smash your damned hypocrisy of "pure and simpledom," and set up a union that is a class-conscious proletarian concern. Put that in your pipe and smoke it.

THE PROPAGANDIST.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by BYRON EFFORD, Beaumont, Mass.]

Full ripening lie the wealth-fields,
As up the heights we climb;
They are the fairest wealth fields
Along the shores of time;
And I'm a Socialist lassie,
Who seeks the live-long day,
To enlist recruits for our army staff
In the coming Socialist fray.

It's a noble cause in the Morning,
It's nobler at the Noon,
But noblest when the Night falls,
And tollers crowd the room;
Then a rapture fills our Comrades,
And a sweetness fills the air,
As the truths unfold from the speaker's heart
Of a Commonwealth most fair.

Then a big sigh heaves my bosom,
And a wee tear fills my eye,
As I think of the grand old workers
Who in the ranks did die,
But I rise content in the morning,
And work while work I may,
By the Arm and the Hammer of our Host,
For the Socialist Banner day.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

H. J. W., Oakland, Cal.—Manuscript received. Shall look into it. Its length, however, precludes its immediate insertion, especially now that we are printing on the third page historic sketches; that Comrade Sanial is writing for the S. L. P. almanac that he has in preparation.

ITALY.

(Continued.)

The time had not yet come, however, and was not to come for many years, when an indestructible organization of Socialist forces could be founded on a broad layer of class-conscious proletariat, sufficiently enlightened to clearly perceive the fundamental causes of its sufferings, the exact object of its aspirations and the direct line to the achievement of its purpose. The state of profound ignorance and deep misery in which the Italian masses had been purposely kept for centuries, was naturally productive of a morass-like placidity which could only be disturbed at the surface by great political commotions. The Anarchists, with all the wind at their command, had hardly caused a ripple of excitement concerning the social question, even in the higher strata, before Passanante's attempt on the life of the king (November 16, 1878) gave the government an opportunity, which it improved wonderfully, of confounding in the same ostracism the antipodal methods and aims of Anarchism and Socialism; for it soon found that the Anarchistic "propaganda of the deed" naturally defeated its own purpose by frightening away the timorous masses, and was therefore dangerous only to the few individuals who at rare intervals might be the victims of it; whereas Socialism, with its open and legal process of agitation, education and organization, would surely win over the oppressed, the disinherited, the immense majority of the people, thus building up an irresistible power of numbers and intellect, before which would inevitably vanish all the aristocratic and capitalistic institutions upon which the so-called social fabric was resting.

Unlawfully deprived by the government of their right to organize politically and economically on Socialist principles, forbidden to hold their national congress, which was to take place at Milan on the 10th of May, 1880, and otherwise hindered or persecuted in many ways, the Italian Socialists temporarily adopted another line of tactics. They had already initiated a movement for universal suffrage. This they determined to make for a time their only apparent or declared object and to agitate for it with their utmost vigor. If, with the aid of many disfranchised people who did not yet share their economic views—such as small middle class men, humble professionals, poor peasants, etc.—they could compel the government to grant this demand, even with certain restrictions, not only their importance as a political factor outside of Parliament would be established, but they might have some chances of electing a few Socialists to the House of Representatives, who by their speeches and attitude in that body would most effectively carry on the very agitation which they were forbidden to attempt as an organized party. Their efforts in this direction were crowned with success. Twelve hundred societies, representing the various shades of opposition to the monarchy, sent delegates to a national congress, that was held at Rome in February, 1881, under the honorary presidency of Garibaldi. At this congress a resolution was enthusiastically adopted, demanding "universal suffrage as a fundamental right of the people, which, first of all, must be asserted and enforced, in order that Italy may enter a new phase of national life, that will begin with the proclamation of the republic."

The movement now assumed formidable proportions, and the government thought it best to yield while it could still exact better terms of capitulation than it might have been able to obtain later on. A franchise bill was passed in 1882, full of restrictions, but largely extending the suffrage. The Italian Socialist party then firmly stood up, took the field in its own name, sent out its agitators, consolidated and federated into provincial districts the sections which had hitherto maintained a separate and precarious existence, organized new ones, held public meetings under its own auspices, distributed pamphlets, issued newspapers, and generally developed a fertility of resources and a quickness of motion not less puzzling than distasteful to its surprised enemies. Time, however, and especially financial means, were wanting to sufficiently organize before election day in 1883 more than thirteen electoral districts for the practical purpose of immediate political action. In those thirteen districts straight-out Socialist candidates were nominated. Two were elected. Of these two one was Andrea Costa, who in earlier days was a leading Anarchist, but had since then embraced Socialism with the fervor of an apostle and given ample proof of his honest conversion; his ability was uncontested.

The task of the two Socialist deputies was plain enough, although difficult and exhausting to an extreme degree in a Parliament thoroughly controlled by capitalist interests and overwhelmingly composed of unscrupulous politicians, equally lost to every sense of shame or honor. They had been instructed by their constituents to take the oath of office as a mere formality; to expound Socialism from the tribune of Parliament on every possible occasion; to criticize from the Socialist standpoint all the important propositions that might come up for discussion, and especially those which, purporting to be in the interest of the laboring class, were merely intended as fraudulent baits to befool, sidetrack and capture the wage-working voters, "for no honest social reform can be expected from a government bound to maintain at all hazards the present dishonest system"; in brief, to preserve in all their acts and utterances the uncompromising attitude and unalterable hostility of the class-conscious proletariat towards its oppressors.

Incensed at the progress of the Socialists and realizing that their leadership in the labor movement of Italy—rather their hope of leadership, for there never was a labor movement in the true sense of the term so long as they were at the front—was fast passing away, the Anarchists felt the necessity of immediately contriving some scheme of disorganization. Their chief spirits, Malatesta and Cafiero, were hastily recalled from London. They had been there for some time engaged with some others in secret work of the usual Bakuninist sort, having especially in view to hold together the shattered remnants of their Anarchistic International; for it was already possible to foresee that in a few years the labor movement, reorganized in various countries upon a more solid basis than at any previous time, would naturally reassume its international character; and it was of vital importance to the Anarchists, at this critical time, not only to check the advance of Socialism as a political power to which the masses would necessarily look more and more for immediate improvement and final deliverance, but to secure in the corporative (or trade union) bodies, indebted for existence to Socialistic energy, a position and influence that would enable them to appear as the bona fide representatives of a great economic force at any international congress that the Socialists themselves might later on deem it timely to call. For these very reasons Italy now claimed their special attention and peculiar talents.

Immediately upon his return, Malatesta began a campaign of vilification and abuse against the Socialists, and more particularly against Costa, who, he said, by entering Parliament had made the labor party a "legitimate" one, and had thus "betrayed it to the bourgeoisie." Conveniently ignoring, or dismissing as of no value, the above mentioned instructions of the party to its deputies, he now advocated the theory of trade-unionism pure and simple. Incessant war to the knife in the economic field, and absolute abstention from participation in electoral campaigns, on the ground that they were "necessarily corruptive." The violence of his language, not of course in so far as it related to the Socialists, for the government was only too glad to thus see them assailed at labor meetings, but in regard to the ruling classes and the government itself—soon caused his arrest, followed by police searches in various cities and the discovery of several secret Anarchistic groups, recently formed to carry out the London programme. Malatesta was thereupon tried by a Roman tribunal and sentenced to several years of imprisonment.

Yet, none were more sorry for his mishap than the Socialists themselves, who claimed for everybody the absolute right of free speech. In their extreme respect for this right they allowed such as Malatesta to take the floor in their sections, to become members and officers of their economic organizations, and generally to "participate" with them in the work of awakening the proletariat, relying entirely upon the teachings of events and the correctness of their own position to win over to their views—as in the case, for instance, of Andrea Costa—men who might be mistaken in certain fundamentals of doctrine and tactics, but were earnest enough to incur any risk in the advocacy of liberty. True, their own cause had seriously suffered from their loose connection and constant disputes with the Anarchists. On repeated occasions they had found it necessary to draw a sharp line of separation. But the tendency always was to relax into leniency, especially in times of persecution. The opposition of the more experienced to further intercourse with a body of men that they had good cause to consider as implacable enemies, ambitious schemers for the most part, and the greatest obstacle to a comprehensive massing and moving of the labor forces, was but feebly sustained by the general membership. This was largely composed of new recruits, who were not yet educated to the point of clearly discerning the radical difference between "Anarchistic Communism," so-called, and true Collectivism, or Socialism. Some of them were even apt to be misled by the Anarchists into the belief that the opposition of the Socialist "leaders" was induced by personal considerations and ambitious designs. Such a state of affairs was eminently calculated to perpetuate the popular notion, industriously cultivated by the capitalist press and politicians, that Socialism and Anarchism were synonymous terms. As already stated, the government, in so far at least as its higher officials were concerned, knew exactly the breadth of the chasm that separated the two movements and the wide divergence of the lines along which they were respectively running. But since it had felt the power of the Socialists in the political field, it was the more anxious to identify them with the Anarchists in every public disturbance or riotous proceeding instigated by the latter, and to thus improve every opportunity of again using its police and judiciary to harass, defame and persecute them. On the other hand, the Anarchists availed themselves of every persecution to deride the Socialist tactics of independent political action at the ballot box and to preach revolution by the force of arms.

It would be tedious and profitless to follow in its turbulent operation the destructive policy of the Anarchists from 1884 to 1890. We must also leave to some other historian the sad and thankless task of recording the petty quarrels of puny leaders in small and impotent labor organizations, and the consequent aimlessness of the labor movement during that period. All this and more we can readily imagine from our similar experience in the United States on a far larger scale. Unwillingly dragged into conflicts productive of nothing but intense suffering among the workers, the Socialists never lost hope; they kept in close contact with their fellow sufferers, educating them and confidently looking to the day when under the irresistible pressure of International Socialism order would spring from chaos in the ranks of the Italian proletariat.

To them it was obvious that this day could not be far distant. And it was, indeed, surely coming. The great victory of the German Social-Democrats in 1894 had been followed in 1895 by a suggestive awakening in France and Belgium. Austria was also moving. Then came the international congresses of Paris in 1889, resulting in the institution of May Day. This was turned by the Italian Socialists into a powerful means of propaganda. Under their lead the corporative (or trade union) movement developed more comprehensively and freed itself to a great extent from Anarchistic influences and notions. Finally, in 1891, the International Congress of Brussels, by emphatically repudiating the Anarchists and even sternly refusing seats to those among them who claimed that they held credentials from bona fide "corporative groups," gave

the Italian Socialists the endorsement, prestige and power which they had so long needed to overcome the paralyzing effects of Anarchistic opposition. In that same year they held at Milan a national congress of the labor bodies, which recognized the equal necessity of economic and political action, and the "Italian Workingmen's party" was founded on the double basis of trade unionism and political organization, "with a view to the conquest of the public powers by a simultaneous movement of the labor forces along the two natural lines of the class struggle." The work thus auspiciously begun at Milan was perfected at Genoa in 1892, and the young party, full of hope and vigor, resolutely entered the electoral campaign of that year, casting 27,000 votes for the few candidates it had been able to place in the field and electing five representatives to Parliament.

From this moment the progress of the party was so rapid that at the Congress of Reggio-Emilia in September, 1893, nearly 300 labor federations and local unions were represented. No one, but the best informed within the party itself, expected such a display of strength. The surprise it caused among the ruling classes could not well be disguised in the respectful comments of the government and capitalist organs upon the dignity of the Congress and the practical character of its proceedings. On the other hand, its moral effect upon the delegates was in nothing more apparent than in the enthusiasm with which they swept away all verbal vestiges of previous timidity, by adding the word "Socialist" to the name of the party, which thenceforth was to be known as the "Italian Socialist Labor party." They had no cause to regret their boldness; for on the day of adjournment, ten thousand peasants rushed from all parts of the Emilia province to the town, assembled on the great public square, greeted the Socialist speakers with the most emphatic demonstrations of approval, fraternized with the delegates and returned to their homes determined to stand at all times under the banner of Socialism. And theirs was not an idle promise, forgotten as soon as given; through good and bad report those poor peasants of Emilia have ever since remained faithful; it is by the Socialist Prampolini that they are represented in Parliament.

Nor was this movement of the peasants confined to one province. It soon extended to many parts of the Italian peninsula and spread like wild fire—too much, indeed, like wild fire—in the island of Sicily.

From time immemorial Sicily has been a standard land of misery and martyrdom for the rural proletariat. In this respect it casts Ireland far into the shade. Its very fertility, unsurpassed anywhere, has always proved its curse. To this day the ancient Roman "latifundium" (or private estate of colossal dimensions) is the basis of its economic system. Upon the old trunk, however, is now grafted the Manchesterian capitalistic device of "free labor," but without its American bonanza farm adjunct of highly improved machinery and consequent free tramplism. The fruit of this anachronistic growth has been a monstrous form of human slavery, which yields princely incomes to land grabbers, handsome pickings to usurers, and large revenues to the government. From a soil so rich that the least labor is required by nature with regal subsistence, armies of small tenants, chained by contract, working their every muscle and their very soul into vapor, eke out for themselves famine and squalor. Over and above the crust of bread upon which these human beasts of draft and burden are allowed to feed, what is not appropriated by the idle landowner is promptly carried away by the busiest vermin of the whole island, namely, the tax-collector.

Sicily is also—as such a hell should be—the land of earthquakes and brimstone. Under its surface, plunged in physical and intellectual darkness, thousands of pariahs of both sexes and all ages are digging out sulphur for the enrichment of British capitalists. A number of them, by the way, are Cornish descent, their fathers having been sent from civilized England to teach the ignorant Sicilian laborers—and incidentally their own Sicilianized children—the art of turning Inferno itself into surplus value by the process of starvation. It was among these poor people, in this lowest substratum of proletarian misery, that the "Fasci Operai" (labor unions) first undertook to organize resistance. The Fasci established at Palermo a central committee for the island of Sicily. Under the auspices and management of this active body a congress of the sulphur miners was held at Grotte, which resulted in a public exposure of their scandalous treatment, and in the adoption of a programme of action looking to the immediate improvement of their condition. A small increase of their wages followed, and some of the most revolting abuses to which they had so long been compelled to submit were at last abolished.

The Central Committee then turned its attention to the peasants. A congress of their class was held at Corleone, and a strong organization was effected, through which their general demand for a modification of the barbarous contracts imposed upon tenants by landowners was successfully enforced.

There were, however, many other grievances, individual and collective, which could not be redressed or suppressed but by a radical change of system. Some of these, especially, were in their nature and in the petty conflicts which they frequently provoked, such as to give the Socialists much anxiety. Evidently, the disinherited peasants, who could not yet grasp the fundamental truths of Socialism, were apt to be sidetracked at any time, by their intense desire for immediate betterment, into some agrarian movement of a middle class tendency and anarchistic character.

The Italian government itself—unwittingly but none the less effectively—had on a previous occasion supplied all the elements by the natural action of which such a movement would some day be rendered inevitable unless the Socialists could get in time sufficient influence to properly direct the mounting wave of public indignation. Aware of the deep discontent that pervaded the Sicilian peasantry, and deriving but little income from the Crown's domain, the royal authorities had hit upon a plan, calculated, in their opinion, to win back the affections of the landless by a public distribution of the demesne lands, while at the same time increasing by adequate taxation the royal revenues. As might have been expected the proletarian riffraff was little benefited by this right royal fraudulent generosity. The great landowners and the usurers managed in the end to elbow out the poor claimants, who, when they became uncomfortably pressing, or perchance disrespectfully boisterous, were given free board at their fellows' expense in a royal prison.

As the increased and constantly increasing amount of taxation was shifted by the land owners from their own shoulders upon the shoulders of their tenants, the latter became more and more desperate; not so much against the system, which the Socialists were now endeavoring to make them understand, as against the tax collector, who, clad in royal authority, had every possible means of making himself understood. Hence, here and there, vain resistance on one side and display of overwhelming force on the other. Every such conflict between a peasant and a fiscal agent was, of course, officially magnified into a riot and perverted by the fomenters—in so far as there were any, and as was conclusively proved later on by the radical-socialist deputy Colajanni—were the high officers of the fisc and the great landowners themselves, who longed for an opportunity of terrorizing the claimants and all other dissatisfied persons into silence and submission; whereas the Fasci, for the obvious reasons already stated, not only discountenanced any private act, but firmly opposed any public manifestation calculated to provoke disorder; their aim being to organize the whole rural, urban and mining proletariat into a compact, clear-minded, self-controlled body, which in the consciousness of its political strength could not be driven into a wasting of its forces by premature revolt.

The policy of the ruling classes was therefore twofold. For the accomplishment of their object the peasantry had first to be cured of its grievances by such summary treatment as the military alone could effectively apply, and the Socialist Labor Party was to be so crippled that it could not continue its legal, peaceful, but most dreaded work of organization.

The men then in power as Ministers did not, however, possess the amount of reckless impudence and murderous energy required to carry out such a programme. They were weak politicians, selected for their comparative "honesty" at a time when Colajanni, by laying bare at the tribune of Parliament the Banca Romana scandal (paralleled only by the French Panama and the American Pacific Railways in the history of political corruption), had shaken the government to its foundations. The old danger line had safely been passed. Another danger, far more serious, was now threatening. Men of negative qualities were here out of place. A true capitalistic leader, a man of positive vices and inborn viciousness, was now needed. Such a man was Crispi.

That this man had already, some years before, been hurled from power by the scandal of "his triple bigamy"; that he was, by temperament, a chief of bandits, a lustful scamp, and as much of a liar as any ten prostitutes could be; that he might "unscrupulously do anything, even good, in the attainment of his object"; that money was his faith and corruption his element; all this and more that was known of him commended him highly for the unique work of saving a class which he more completely portrayed in his own person and in its worst features than any other Italian "statesman" of his day.

It was at the end of 1893 that Crispi took the reins of government. The Parliament was not in session. The state of siege was immediately proclaimed in Sicily; also in the Carrara district of the province of Tuscany, where the marble quarriesmen, tired of starvation wages, had been parading through their own dilapidated villages with a flag upon which was embroidered the upper shoot of a Carrara pine; innocent emblem, probably, of the readiness with which they, strong men, had until then bent to the will of their masters.

Those of us in America who at that time learned from the capitalist press that there was a terrible rebellion raging in Sicily, instigated and engineered by Socialists, will now be surprised at the following statement. On the capitalist side two men fell: one of them a soldier, who was threatening death to everybody; the other an official, pretor of Gibellina, esteemed by the people and shot by mistake while attempting to restrain the soldiery. On the proletarian side, ninety-two unarmed citizens were killed, and a large but unknown number of others were more or less severely wounded. The "bands of rebels," so-called, were unoffensive processions of men and women, carrying the portraits of the King and the Queen between Italian flags. They were fired upon as soon as they made their appearance.

The Fasci were dissolved by the authorities and their officers were thrown into prison. One thousand persons, men and women, charged with or simply suspected of participating in proceedings which had been legally and openly held before the state of siege, were arrested by the police, and tried by court martials. Ten, twelve, twenty years' sentences fell as thick and quick from the dry lips of martial presidents as hailstones in an April shower. "The military tribunals of Sicily alone," writes Colajanni, "dispensed about 5,000 years of imprisonment to peasants who protested against famine in the midst of the superabundance which they had produced, and to young men guilty of a generous Socialist propaganda."

For all these atrocities Crispi asked Parliament, on the reopening of the Chambers, for a bill of indemnity; in support of which he read forged documents, such as incendiary appeals to rebellion, and anonymous communications to the police, which refused to make their authors known on the plea of professional secrecy. Interpellated by Prampolini, the "great minister" declared himself responsible for the genuineness of all those documents. They were signed, "very much signed"; and he had "something better in his portfolio, which he would not read out of compassion for the prisoners." The value of all this evidence may be inferred from the famous "Treaty of Bisacchino," so named from the town where resided the police agent that supplied his em-

ployers with this remarkable product of modern invention. By this "treaty" it was undertaken to show that the members of the central committee of the Fasci, in league with certain eminent Sicilians (including the deputy Colajanni) had entered into a compact with France and England to dismember Italy by separating Sicily from her and delivering an Italian port to Russia! O patriotism! What traitors those Socialists be!

And now came the Anarchists. They always come at the right moment; when a government is sorely in need of a "propaganda of the deed" to prop up its shaky structure of despotism. Explosions in Spain and Paris! The pondard of Caserio—an Italian, mark well! Europe is in a tremor. Italy—Crispi must have "laws of exception."

These laws, nominally made against the Anarchists, who, in Crispi's own words, "have no party," are, of course, mercilessly applied to the Socialists, who have a party. And that the Socialists may the more surely, the more legally, fall under the operation of the law, their party is dissolved by a stroke of Crispi's pen.

On the 23d of October, 1894, every known Socialist receives the visit of a police agent; his house is searched, his papers are taken, his person is jailed. Not one militant escapes, even among the most obscure.

(To be Continued.)

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 193 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive Committee.

Meeting of December 28th, with Comrade Seibert in the chair. Absent were Bennett and Stahl, the latter excused. The financial report for the week showed receipts to the amount of \$60; expenditures, \$155.68; deficit, \$95.68.

The secretary was instructed to communicate with the Rhode Island State Committee, with a view to obtain further information about an attempt to disfranchise the workers of that State by the recommendation to the Legislature on the part of a commission to revise the constitution, making the right to vote dependent upon a property qualification. The State Committee is to be offered the aid of the National Executive Committee in inaugurating an agitation against the scheme.

Comrade Keirand sends several reports as to his agitation. He has reorganized Section Canton, Maryland, and since that State has now the required number of Sections, it was resolved to issue a call to make nominations for the seat of the State Committee.

Section Chicago reports the expulsion of Fred Wittenmeyer, for having joined the S. D. Section Bevier, Mo., inquires about the charter. The Section was informed that when the attempt to procure a suitable design through a competition had failed, the Committee on Charter and Awards, after making another fruitless attempt in New York City, wrote to Walter Crane, of London, England, who agreed to make the design for the amount of the price offered. He was to begin the work upon his return to London, and expected to be done with it the latter part of November. The Committee on Charter and Awards, when written to about the matter, replied that they had again written to London and were in daily expectation of an answer. Sections that hold certificate of charter will please take notice and rest assured that as soon as the design arrives, the Executive Committee will lose no time in getting out the charter.

Section Lewiston, Maine, reports its nomination for the seat of the State Committee.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$331.00
J. H. Harkow, Brooklyn, N. Y., 50

Total, \$331.50

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

Comrade Harry Carless' Tour in Massachusetts.

From January 13th to February 1st. The following dates are still open, and may be had by Sections: January 13th, 14th, 15th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st and February 1st. The Sections are to pay railroad fare and hotel expenses, while the National Executive Committee pays the speaker's salary. To make possible subsequent arrangements for other States, Sections are urgently requested to report as to whether they want a meeting or not, and do so without delay. All such reports to be sent to the undersigned.

The State Committee wishes all Comrades a happy and prosperous New Year and a successful campaign for 1898.

M. RUTHER, Secy.,

6 Vernon street, Holyoke, Mass.

Convention of Jewish Speaking Socialists

The convention of Jewish-speaking Socialists was held at Liberty Hall, in this city, on the 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th instant. Fifty-seven delegates representing 29 organizations of eleven different towns, were present.

The following is the work done by the convention:

First—Adoption of a resolution expressing the joy at the reports of the Jewish labor movement in Russia and Poland. The resolution calls the attention of our Jewish Comrades in Russia to the experience made by the workingmen in this country, which, although it is republican and guarantees political freedom, still we have to struggle hard against the greatest tyrant—capitalism. The Jewish workingmen in Russia are therefore advised not to waste their energy in a struggle for Jewish rights, against oppressions which, are but branches of the tree of oppressions, but to concentrate all their energy and attention upon the struggle against the root of all sorts of oppression, inequality and injustice—against the capitalist robber system. The convention pledged all possible support to the struggling brothers in Russia and Poland.

The resolution will be printed and 10,000 copies sent to the agencies of the Russian and Polish Socialist parties in Zurich and London, to distribute them amongst the Jewish workingmen in Russia and Poland.

Second—The several organizations reported on their activity for the last two years. Almost all have gained very much and are continually progressing since the oppositionists were put out of the party. Chicago and Providence reported not having been affected by the oppositionists in any way.

Third—The closest attention was paid to the report of the Arbeiter Publishing Association, and it was received with a thunder of applause. The convention decided to have this report printed and sent to the organizations.

When the delegate of Boston reported all delegates rose from their seats in honor of the lately deceased Comrade, Morris Roud, of that city, and the convention adopted a resolution of sorrow on losing one of its most beloved Comrades, and expressing sympathy to the family of the deceased. After a lengthy discussion, the position of the "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiter-Zeitung" towards the oppositionists was fully endorsed.

Fourth—The Comrades all over the country were requested to circulate the "Abendblatt" wherever possible in order to increase the agitation. The branches and Sections of the S. L. P. shall also make arrangements with the A. Z. Pub. Ass'n as to make use of its agents' returns.

Fifth—Comrade Finn, who has always been a member of the Executive Board of the former monthly, "Zukunft," and Comrade Feigenbaum, one of the editorial staff, reported that owing to the "popular management" (Volks Verwaltung) the "Zukunft" was criminally mismanaged in both departments. The "Zukunft" and its funds were finally captured by the oppositionists, and the magazine went down. Its ruin principally arose from its being turned from a scientific magazine into a weapon against the "Abendblatt" and the Socialist Labor party.

The "Zukunft" left quite a large sum of debts behind it.

A special committee appointed by the convention studied the advisability of publishing another magazine thoroughly, and reported to the convention a detailed plan for the publication of a magazine, and how a fund, \$500, to assure its existence should be raised. According to the committee's plan, this magazine will cost less than half the "Zukunft" did. It will be of the same size (48 pages), and will cost half the price (5 cents) per copy. The business management will all be furnished by the office personnel of the A. F. P. A., without any extra compensation for it. It will be the property of the several represented organizations. The Board of Directors and the Board of Editors will be elected in the same manner as the National Executive Committee, S. L. P. is elected. The N. E. C. will have the power of removing the editor.

The "Neue Zeit" (New Time) was, under a storm of applause, selected as the name for the magazine.

The \$500 fund is to be raised by the 1st of April, 1898, and the "Neue Zeit" to be started by the 1st of May, 1898.

Six—An Executive Committee of 7 was elected to organize and furnish speakers wherever necessary. The formation of speakers' schools was recommended, and the convention decided that it considers as speakers any Comrade capable to argue Socialism verbally, and recommends the organizations to invite such Comrades as speakers; whether they will "draw a large audience or not."

This resolution was an absolute necessity, as the former speakers, who are now traitors to the party, have made it a custom to hold uninteresting sentimental speeches, with empty phrases and jokes, and have thereby made it impossible for Comrades who are fully capable to expound the teachings of Socialism to be heard, because they could not irritate the nerves or crack jokes. Nearly all had the same complaint to make, and wherever they acted in the sense of the above resolution it proved a great success.

Seventh—A resolution was adopted urging upon all Comrades to give all possible aid in raising the \$50,000 fund for a "Daily People."

Eighth—A resolution calls upon all Comrades to strengthen the S. T. & L. A.

All resolutions are to be confirmed by a general vote of the several organizations.

The Sunday night session lasted till the entire order of business was transacted and the convention adjourned sine die at 4:15 Monday morning, Dec. 27th, with cheers for the S. L. P. and the International Socialist movement.

Unlike the former Jewish conventions, the absence of the "gods" was fully appreciated, and common sense prevailed. It was no more a laughing-stock for our enemies, but an intelligent deliberate body of loyal Socialists.

Connecticut.

LECTURES IN HARTFORD, CONN.

On Sunday, January 24, at Good Templar's Hall, 361 Main street, Speaker, Charles Mercer, of Bridgeport, Conn. Subject, "Socialism, the Hope of Humanity."

On Sunday, January 11th, at Germania Hall, corner of Main and Morgan streets, Speaker, Harry Carless, of Newark, N. J. Subject, "When Will Prosperity Come?"

Kentucky.

LOUISVILLE, Dec. 26.—The S. L. P. of Louisville has public meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock, at Zimmerman's Hall, 124 West Jefferson street. The subjects for January are as follows:

Sunday, 2nd—"What prospects have the masses for a betterment of their condition under the present system?" C. Laudolt (English).

Sunday, 16th—"The sacred rights of property." F. Giffey (English).

Sunday, 9th—"McKinley's Message, from a workingman's standpoint." L. Kleinhenz (German).

Sunday, 23d—"The S. T. & L. A. and old-style trade unionism." Albert Schmutz (German).

Will be open to a general discussion in both languages.

A. SCHMUTZ, Organizer.

Massachusetts.

Boston American Section! The next regular monthly meeting on Jan. 3,

We would like to see every reader use a DIAMOND POINT GOLD FOUNTAIN PEN Without expense!

We will send it free to anyone sending us three yearly subscriptions at one dollar each. Will you take advantage of this unprecedented offer? Get a new yearly subscriber this, next and the following week, then send us \$3.00 and the pen is yours. Address all letters and money orders to THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York City.

1898, will be held in Unity Hall, 724 Washington street, instead of at 45 Elliot street, as heretofore.

THE SECRETARY.

HOLYOKE, Dec. 29.—In reply to your letter of December 6th, Section Holyoke has resolved.

First, that Section Holyoke has no connection with "Die Biene," that paper being the private property of Mr. August Lehmann.

Second, the Section shall forbid Mr. Lehmann to speak in the name of our party, because he is not a member.

With social greeting,
C. M. KURTH, Organizer,
Section Holyoke, Mass.

Missouri.

ST. LOUIS, December 26.—The State Committee will soon have a new printing press, and it will issue a weekly paper in the near future. Lectures are held every Sunday afternoon at 412½ Market street, every second and fourth Sunday afternoon at Mohr's Hall, Broadway and Russell avenue, and every first and third Tuesday at Union Club Hall, 20 N. Penrose street.

Section St. Louis has moved into her new headquarters, which has a seating capacity of 150 people, and has been newly decorated. We have three nights to let. For further information apply to the organizer of Section St. Louis.

Section St. Louis has redeemed itself since the sore heads are out, and it will soon be one of the most active Sections in the land.

The Socialists of St. Louis will give a masquerade ball on January 15, 1898.

Come one! come all!
To the Socialist ball
At Lightstones' new hall.

New York.

To the Party Organizations of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., and other Progressive Bodies:

Comrades:—The Comrades of the 9th Congressional District, S. L. P., having resolved to give a masquerade ball at the Grand Central Palace on Saturday, January 23, 1898, for the benefit of the Jewish Labor Press, and to promote Socialist agitation in that district, they earnestly call upon all who have the object of the Socialist Labor party at heart to assist them morally and financially as much as possible. It is needless to state that the population of the 9th Congressional District is principally Jewish, and that the "Abend Blatt," the Jewish Socialist organ, has in the past done noble work by instructing through its columns a race of people who could not otherwise have been reached. Its strenuous efforts in support of our party during the critical period of the last campaign and the obvious fact that it is a necessary means of Socialist propaganda, are important reasons why the Comrades not only of the 9th Congressional District but of the party at large should do their utmost to make the ball a financial success. Let the memory of the magnificently large vote polled by Comrade Daniel De Leon in 1896, and the hope that in 1898 that vote will be increased, inspire all the Comrades of the party and all members of sympathetic associations to make the affair a success, and thus provide a financial basis for a renewed and vigorous agitation both by pen and tongue in the most important strategic point in the battle ground of the S. L. P. in Greater New York.

All party organizations and kindred bodies are urgently requested to take as many tickets as possible from a committee who have this matter in hand, and who will appear at their meetings in the near future.

For the General Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.,
L. ABELSON, Organizer.

NEW YORK CITY.—The holiday season does not abate the enthusiasm of Bronx Borough Socialists. The usual Sunday night's entertainment, consisting of lecture, free discussion, interspersed with a select musical programme, was held last Sunday evening at the headquarters of Bronx Borough Branch, 34th and 25th Assembly Districts, 3d avenue and 149th street, Comrade Schweickert presiding.

The speech of the evening was delivered by Comrade Sperle, member of the branch; subject entitled "Facts." Comrade J. Alfred Britton made a short address on the wrongfulness of the capitalist system; he also assisted in the evening's entertainment by a grand display of elocutionary and dramatic powers, the recitations rendered by him being in style dramatic, in effect powerful and pathetic, were well received. The after discussion which took place was very interesting. Mr. Joseph Courtney, a visitor, undertook to refute some of the arguments set forth by Comrades Sperle and Britton. Although Mr. Courtney deserves credit for his courage and manliness, we were too many for our visitor's insufficient arguments. Comrades Hugo Seitz and Miss Annie Seitz rendered some very fine selections on piano and flute; also a violin solo, rendered by Mr. Louis Human, accompanied by Miss Seitz. The evening's entertainment closed by a short address by the chairman. The programme for January is as follows:

January 2—"Karl Marx," by James Allan.

January 9—"The Present and the Future," by Charles Copp.

January 16—"The Socialist Labor Party; the Social Democracy; Their Platform and Tactics," by Leon A. Malkiel.

January 23—"The S. L. P. and Their Platform," by A. S. Brown.

January 30—"Foot Pound," by Chas. Teche.

JOHN J. KINNEALLY,
Organizer, Bronx Borough Branch.

N. Y. CITY.—4th Assembly District.—A series of twelve lectures on "The Historical Development of Modern Socialism," to be delivered every second

and fourth Fridays of the month, at 165 East Broadway.

3.—January 14—"St. Simon," by L. Boudjanoff.

4.—January 28—"Fourier," by Slobodin.

5.—February 11—"Rob. Owen," by Dr. Girsandsky.

6.—February 25—"The Communist Manifesto," by S. Pollock.

7.—March 11—"Ferdinand Lassalle and His Significance for the German Social Democracy," by J. Bernstein.

8.—March 25—"International Workingmen's Association" (lecturer to be announced).

9.—April 8—"German Social Democracy," by M. Hilkowitz.

10.—April 22—"Socialism in France" (lecturer to be announced).

11.—May 13—"Trade Unionism in England," by N. I. Stone.

12.—May 27—"The Socialist Movement in America," by Daniel De Leon.

YONKERS GRAND FESTIVAL OF SONG.

Section Yonkers feels jubilant over the unprecedented success of the Festival of Labor Songs which was given by Comrade Platon Brounoff and the members of the Russian Musical Society of New York City.

Tautonia Hall was packed to overflowing with a very appreciative audience, who listened for the first time to genuine Revolutionary Labor Songs rendered by a thoroughly trained chorus of 60 voices.

The chairman, Comrade Mrs. McPherson, of Section Yonkers, introduced Platon Brounoff as being one of the leading composers and orchestral directors this country has ever seen, and she briefly stated that it was the purpose of Comrade Brounoff to devote his life and talent to the cause of Socialism.

Comrade Mrs. McPherson urged the ladies present to take an active part in the Socialist propaganda in this city.

The opening number was "The Hand and Hammer," and the effect on the audience was such that an encore was insisted upon. "The First of May" was rendered as a party song by the entire chorus, and when "Down with Slavery" was given the entire audience repeatedly cheered the composer. The words of this song are by the famous English poet, Percy B. Shelly, and the music has been composed by Brounoff, who has dedicated the song to Section Yonkers, and sung for the first time last Sunday.

It will, together with "The Hand and Hammer," become the most popular revolutionary song in the ranks of the class-conscious proletariat. Section Yonkers has had the music copyrighted, and it is for sale.

Daniel De Leon delivered an address which was not of long duration, but contained meat for the strongest digestion. His illustration of the good and bad use to which the penknife could be put to captured the audience.

Miss Maggie Towers, of Yonkers, recited "The Proletariat" and Hood's "Song of the Shirt," and the Russian Musical Society gave some really beautiful selections from Russian operas. The greatest credit is due to our Jewish Comrades for their active assistance in making the affair such a grand success. Comrades from New York, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle, Peekskill, Irvington and Tarrytown were present.

The Section came out of the affair financially successful.

NEWBURGH, Dec. 27.—All Comrades who have any books or pamphlets which they do not want will confer a great favor on Section Newburgh, N. Y., if they will send them to Richard Morris, 153 North Miller street, Newburgh, N. Y.

SAM. W. FELTER,
153 North Miller street, Newburgh, N. Y.

Socialist Labor Party.—18th Assembly District of Greater New York. Sunday evening lectures, free to everybody, at Stuyvesant Hall, 351 East 17th street, near 1st avenue, New York City.

Business meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 246 1st avenue, between 14th and 15th streets. Come and join. Programme of lectures for January, 1898:

Jan. 2—"The Present and the Future," Lecturer, Chas. Copp.

Jan. 9—"Socialism in Fiction," Lecturer, Morris Hillquit.

Jan. 16—"Karl Marx," Lecturer, James Allan.

Jan. 23—"The Tendency of Industrial Evolution," Lecturer, Chas. Hartzheim.

Jan. 30—"Which Side Are You On?" Lecturer, C. Furman.

Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m. Questions will be answered after the lecture, but must be confined to the subject.

New York Socialist Literary Society.—Sunday afternoon lectures and discussions on political, social and economic questions, at the Club Rooms, 100 Clinton street, New York City. Free to everybody. Programme of lectures for January, 1898:

Jan. 2—"Democracy," Lecturer, Chas. H. Matchett.

Jan. 9—"Machinery," Lecturer, Chas. Vander Porten.

Jan. 16—"Is Socialism Practical?" Lecturer, M. Hillquit.

Jan. 23—"The Difficulties of a Realizationist," Lecturer, Peter E. Burrows.

Jan. 30—"The Morals of our Age," Lecturer, S. Berlin.

Questions will be answered after the lecture, but must be confined to the subject.

Rhode Island.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 27.—The following is the list of lectures to be delivered in Textile Hall, 1355 Westminster street, Olneyville square, during the months of January, February, March and April, 1898:

Jan. 9—"Evils of Private Ownership," Mr. Thomas Donahue.

Jan. 16—"Socialist Outlook in Europe," Mr. E. W. Thelner.

Jan. 23—"Old and New Trade Unions," Mr. Lawrence Lee, Textile Worker.

Jan. 30—"Why Workingmen Should Be Socialists," Mr. John T. Fletcher.

Feb. 6—"Our Rights," Mr. Fred Hurst.

Feb. 13—"Industrial Evolution," Mr. F. E. Burton.

Feb. 20—"Is Socialism the Logical Outgrowth of the Present Economic System," Prof. Henry B. Gardiner.

Feb. 27—"Trusts and Monopolies," Mr. E. Sherwood.

Mar. 6—"What Is Socialism," Mr. Anthony McDonald.

Mar. 13—"Building," Mr. George W. Downing.

Mar. 20—"What Knowledge Is Most Important?" Mr. Charles May.

Mar. 27—"Reform and Reformers," Mr. Thomas Curran.

April 3—"Champions of Democracy," Mr. F. Ward.

April 10—"Why I am a Socialist," Mr. E. J. Kelley.

April 17—"The Way Out," Mr. Jas. Reid.

April 24—"The Trend of Civilization," Mr. John Hurley.

Questions and discussions invited at each meeting. Come and discuss these momentous questions of the day. Admission free.

Virginia.

MANCHESTER, Dec. 27.—At the last meeting of the State Committee of the Socialist Labor party 1 was instructed to cause to be published a detailed vote (that is, by cities and counties) cast for the Socialist Labor party in the recent State elections.

A. B. McCULLOCH,
Secretary, State Committee,
Manchester, Va., Dec. 13, 1897.

The official vote is as follows:

	Gov. Quantz.	R. T. May-cumber.
Accomac	3	43
Albemarle	2	8
Albany	4	6
Alleghany	4	18
Amelia	3	52
Amherst	3	10
Appomattox	25	27
Bath	7	50
Bedford	4	12
Bland	1	11
Botetourt	3	20
Buckingham	7	41
Campbell	10	17
Caroline	6	14
Carroll	3	19
Charles City	2	4
Charlotte	2	3
Chesterfield	11	75
Clarke	1	5
Craig	1	15
Culpeper	1	4
Cumberland	2	2
Dickinson	2	22
Digwiddle	3	5
Elizabeth City	4	16
Essex	1	8
Fairfax	1	17
Fauquier	2	7
Floyd	2	19
Fluvanna	2	3
Franklin	12	19
Frederick	1	4
Giles	1	59
Gloucester	3	13
Goochland	1	6
Grayson	3	11
Greene	1	1
Greensville	3	10
Halifax	6	22
Hanover	4	34
Henrico	13	49
Henry	8	35
Highland	1	5
Isle of Wight	11	13
James City	6	23
King George	3	3
King and Queen	4	4
King William	9	9
Lancaster	7	18
Lee	8	26
Loudoun	2	16
Louisiana	1	13
Lunenburg	1	20
Madison	25	3
Mathews	3	3
Mecklenburg	5	16
Middlesex	3	5
Montgomery	5	32
Nansemond	10	8
Nelson	5	13
New Kent	4	4
Norfolk	4	66
Northampton	4	28
Northumberland	7	28
Nottoway	3	1
Orange	5	54
Page	7	7
Patrick	3	19
Pittsylvania	16	52
Powhatan	2	18
Prince Edward	5	5
Prince George	1	6
Princess Anne	3	8
Prince William	4	4
Pulaski	1	18
Rappahannock	3	3
Richmond	3	14
Roanoke	7	7
Rockbridge	1	10
Rockingham	11	23
Russell	2	7
Scott	6	100
Shenandoah	4	34
Smyth	4	8
Southampton	3	3
Spotsylvania	5	5
Stafford	1	3
Surry	6	2
Sussex	6	6
Tazewell	2	20
Warren	4	4
Warwick	4	3
Washington	8	4
Westmoreland	5	7
Wise	3	80
Wythe	5	43
York	5	5
Total—Counties	350	1,798

Cities:

Alexandria 14 |

Bristol 2 |

Buena Vista 1 |

Total—Cities 22 |

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND. Amount Pledged down to December 29th, 1897. \$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to December 29th, incl.:
Previously acknowledged \$118.90
H. E. Ergel, St. Paul, Minn., 40c; Fred W. Ball, Paterson, N. J., 50c; Emil F. Kirchner, City, St. Geo. Mansfield, Westville, Conn., St. Chas. Stodel, Hartford, Conn., 50c.
Total \$218.90

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE,
184 William St., N. Y.

Charlottesville	2	4
Danville	6	18
Fredericksburg	5	7
Lynchburg	3	5
Manchester	28	17
Newport News	6	25
Norfolk	15	35
Petersburg	2	5
Portsmouth	4	13
Radford	2	4
Richmond	36	25
Roanoke	43	42
Staunton	3	5
Williamsburg	3	1
Winchester	3	5
Total in cities	157	229

RECAPITULATION.
Total vote of counties 350 1,798
Total vote of cities 157 229

Total 507 2,027

Wisconsin.

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 27.—The Section will hold the following series of lectures for the next four months:

JANUARY.

Sunday, 2—"The Good the Trades Unions have done for the Labor Cause," By Mr. Rummel.

Sunday, 9—"The Effects of Machinery on the Welfare of Society," By Mr. Battell.

Sunday, 16—"The Division of Society into Classes," By Mr. Gunderman.

Sunday, 23—"Does Competition further the Welfare of Society?" By Mr. Paula.

Sunday, 30—"Reforms and Reformers," By Mrs. Wiese.

FEBRUARY.

Sunday, 6—"The Influence of Capitalism upon Society," By Mr. Battell.

Sunday, 13—"The Power of the Ballot in the hands of the Working People," By Mr. F. Wilke.

Sunday, 20—"Why are we Internationalists?" By Mr. Paula.

Sunday, 27—"Evolution and Revolution," By Mr. Richardson.

MARCH.

Sunday, 6—"The Growth of Private Property," By Mr. F. Wilke.

Sunday, 13—"Socialism and Populism," By Dr. Knopfnagel.

Sunday, 20—"What is Revolutionary Socialism?" By Mr. Gunderman.

Sunday, 27—"The Class-consciousness of the Capitalists and the Class-ignorance of the Proletariat," By Dr. Knopfnagel.

APRIL.

Sunday, 3—"The Coming Municipal Election," By Mr. Butoma.

Sunday, 10—"Idealism and Materialism," By Mr. Gunderman.

Sunday, 17—"Christianity as preached by Christ, and as it is," By Mr. Riese.

Sunday, 24—"Socialism vs. Anarchism," By Dr. Knopfnagel.

MAY.

Sunday, 1—"Militarism," By Mr. Gunderman.

Sunday, 8—"The Bigotry of the 19th Century," By Dr. Knopfnagel.

Lectures will commence at 8 p. m. sharp, and will close at 10 p. m. Each lecture will be open to discussion.

The Academy of Social Science.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate G. Mielenhausen, of the United Engineers' Union No. 1, was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation.

D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and Delegate G. Luck, of the Empire City Lodge, Machinists, was vice-chairman.

A letter from Baker Boss Leopold requested a searching investigation relative to a complaint made by Ind. Bakers' Br. 2, and this was referred to a special committee.

A committee of the "All Tobacco Cigarette Workers' Union" was admitted and stated that they had resolved to join the C. L. F. and the S. T. & L. A. It was decided to hold the application in abeyance and refer the case to the Organization Committee, to report next meeting.

United Engineers' Union No. 1 reported donating \$2 for agitation purposes. They reported for the G. E. B. label and against the joint D. A. meetings.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 reported voting in favor of the G. E. B. label, but against forcing the same on unions. They also voted against the joint D. A. meetings.

Carl Salm Club reported that they withdrew from the United Hebrew Trades for financial reasons and endorsed the G. E. B. label.

Empire City Lodge, Machinists, accepted 25 tickets from the Ninth Congressional District, S. L. P., for a festival, but informed the committee that all job printing in the future must contain the S. T. & L. A., or such matters will not be recognized.

Relative to Braun's Protection Hall, 152d street and Courtland avenue, it was resolved to notify him by registered letter to employ union waiters and bartenders, and state so by next Sunday, or be placed under boycott.

Ind. Bakers' Br. 2 reported not being able to hold a meeting because the "Arbeiter-Biederkrantz" ran a racket in the meeting hall.

Int. Planomakers' Union reported having initiated 30 members in its English branch. A strike at Glison's shop will be investigated by the Executive

Board. The boycott against Doscher was endorsed.

United